

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 05901 01 OF 02 281922Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 /054 W
-----281954 077227 /47

O R 281918Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0119
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 05901

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: US, PFOR, PINT, FR
SUBJ: COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) STATEMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

REF: A) STATE 42790 (NOTAL) B) PARIS 2501
C) PARIS 2550

SUMMARY: RECENT STATEMENTS BY TOP PCF LEADERS HAVE
STUCK TO THE PARTY LINE DEFINED ALMOST A YEAR AGO. ITS
MAIN ELEMENTS INCLUDE

- THE ASSERTION THAT SOCIALIST STATES SHOULD
"COMBAT FALSE IDEAS WITH JUST ONES AND NOT WITH
ADMINISTRATIVE REPRESSION;"
- THE BELIEF THAT ALL GOVERNMENTS(AND THE USG IN
PARTICULAR) SHOULD SPEAK OUT AGAINST REPRESSION
IN ALL COUNTRIES (IRAN, CHILE AND THE LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARE FAVORITE TARGETS);

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PAGE 02 PARIS 05901 01 OF 02 281922Z

- ARGUING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS WILL BE
THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE OF THE BELGRADE
MEETING ON COMPLIANCE WITH THE CSCE;
 - A CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO DETENTE AND A
REFUSAL TO LINK THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC
LIBERTIES TO THE DETENTE PROCESS.
- THE SECOND POINT IS ALWAYS MENTIONED IN THE CONTEXT OF

THE FIRST AND IS USUALLY COUPLED WITH THE ADMONITION THAT PCF INTEREST IN SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IS NOT INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. RATHER, THE PCF STATES THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A DUTY TO "CARRY OUT THE HIGHEST IDEALS OF SOCIALISM" AND THAT IT IS ONLY IN THE INTEREST OF PRESERVING A GOOD SOCIALIST MODEL THAT THE PCF MAKES ITS STATEMENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. BACKGROUND - BREAKING THE TIES THAT BIND: SINCE 1975 THE PCF HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN TRYING TO CONVINCE FRENCH VOTERS THAT IT HAS BECOME A LEGITIMATE PARTY MORE INTERESTED IN NATIONAL FRENCH PROBLEMS THAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS. THE CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION OF THIS NEW SPIRIT HAD TO BE -- AND INEVITABLY WAS -- A BREAK WITH THE PCF'S PREVIOUS POLICY OF BLIND APPROVAL OF ALL CPSU POLICIES. THE FIRST OCCASION OF SUCH A PUBLIC BREAK BROUGHT THE PCF TO CONDEMN THE PRACTICE OF FORCED LABOR CAMPS ("IF SUCH DO INDEED EXIST") IN THE SOVIET UNION. SINCE THEN THE PARTY HAS CONTINUED ON MAJOR OCCASIONS TO CONDEMN VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR AND MOST RECENTLY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

2. AMALRIK AND MARCHAIS: ON FEBRUARY 22 THE FRENCH SECOND TV NETWORK OFFERED ITS VIEWERS THE UNEXPECTED SPECTACLE OF PCF SECRETARY-GENERAL GEORGES MARCHAIS AND SOVIET DISSIDENT ANDREI AMALRIK IN A FACE-TO-FACE MEETING ON FRANCE'S TOP-RATED NEWS PROGRAM. WHILE IN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 05901 01 OF 02 281922Z

GENERAL STICKING TO THE LINES NOTED IN THE SUMMARY ABOVE, MARCHAIS ADDED A FEW NEW ELEMENTS:

- RECALLING THAT THE XXIIND CONGRESS OF THE PCF HAD "CLEARLY DECLARED THAT FOR US LIBERTY IS INDIVISIBLE AND THAT WE COULD NOT BE IN ACCORD WITH ARRESTS, IMPRISONMENT OR JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS IN WHATEVER FORM, ENGAGED IN BY WHATEVER SOCIALIST COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION, FOR NON-CONFORMIST POLITICAL THOUGHT ('DELIT D'OPINION')", MARCHAIS WENT ON TO NOTE THAT "SOCIALISM IS OUR AFFAIR, THE AFFAIR OF ALL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES... AND WE HAVE THE DUTY TO REACT";
- ON THE QUESTION OF THE COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN PCF CRITICISM OF THE CPSU AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 PARIS 05901 02 OF 02 281932Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 05901

ANOTHER COUNTRY: "THE DEFENSE OF THE SOCIALIST
IDEAL EVERYWHERE IS THE BUSINESS OF EVERYONE...";
-- ON THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DETENTE: "I
CONSIDER THAT IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO OPPOSE THE
STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DETENTE
AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE . . . I SHOULD ADD THAT
IN THE MATTER OF PROBLEMS TOUCHING ON PEACEFUL
COEXISTENCE AND INTERNATIONAL DETENTE WE HAVE NO
REPROACH TO MAKE TO THE SOVIET UNION. WE WILL
NOT MAKE THE (QUESTION OF) PUBLIC LIBERTIES
DEPEND ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. BEFORE THERE WAS
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WE STRUGGLED FOR LIBERTY.
IN THE SAME WAY, TODAY, WE SHOULD NOT WAIT FOR
NEW STEPS FORWARD ON DETENTE TO STRUGGLE FOR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 05901 02 OF 02 281932Z

LIBERTY."

3. STALINISM -- IT KEEPS REARING ITS UGLY HEAD: WHILE MARCHAIS' WILLINGNESS TO MEET ON TELEVISION WITH AMALRIK AFTER GISCARD REFUSED TO SEE HIM WAS IN ITSELF THE MAJOR MESSAGE, THE CAREFUL NUANCING OF WHAT MARCHAIS ACTUALLY SAID IS EQUALLY IMPORTANT. WHAT ALL THE CAREFUL RHETORIC IS ABOUT, OF COURSE, IS THE PCF'S ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE ALONG THE LINES IT LAID OUT AT ITS XXIIND CONGRESS. DOMESTICALLY, IN ITS EFFORTS TO CONVINCE FRENCH VOTERS THAT IT HAS OUTGROWN ITS STALINIST PAST - WITHOUT EVER CLEARLY SAYING SO - THE PCF IS LED INTO THE KIND OF NUANCED RHETORIC WHICH APPEARS ABOVE. THE REASON IS SIMPLE: MARCHAIS CANNOT TURN HIS BACK ON THE PARTY'S HARDLINERS WHO HAVE BEEN, SINCE THE PARTY CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY, 1976, CONSISTENTLY IGNORED, REPRESSED AND GIVEN NO FORUMS TO EXPRESS THEIR DISCONTENT. BUT THEY AND THEIR POTENTIAL FOR RALLYING SUPPORT IN THE FUTURE CANNOT BE TOTALLY IGNORED AND MARCHAIS' WORDS SHOULD BE READ AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THIS CAVEAT. EQUALLY IMPORTANT IN THIS INTERVIEW HOWEVER, WERE MARCHAIS' WIDELY COMMENTED-ON REASSERTIONS OF THE PCF'S FULL SUPPORT FOR MOSCOW'S DETENTE POLICIES. THIS TOO WAS A FIRST OF SORTS, SINCE MARCHAIS' AMALRIK INTERVIEW MADE CLEAR, IF THERE WAS ANY DOUBT, THAT THE PCF'S POSITIONS IN AREAS SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS DO NOT AUTOMATICALLY IMPLY EQUAL INFLECTIONS IN OTHER POSITIONS, I.E. IN KEY AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. RUSH

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